

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 239640

53

ORIGIN ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 ACDA-19 /116 R

66602

DRAFTED BY ARA/CEN:LAPEZZULLO/WGBOWDLER:PW

12/6/73 EXT. 20630

APPROVED BY ARA:WGBOWDLER

----- 067174

O 239640Z DEC 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 239640

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (OMISSION LINE 5, PARA 2)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HO, ES

SUBJECT: EL SALVADOR-HONDURAS DISPUTE: MEETING WITH  
HONDURAN FONMIN

SUMMARY: HONDURAN FONMIN BATRES TOLD DEPT. OFFS. THAT HE  
SAW LITTLE HOPE THAT CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH EL SALVADOR  
WOULD PRODUCE RESULTS BEFORE DECEMBER 15 DEADLINE. HE OP-  
POSED POSTPONEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS SUGGESTED BY SALVADORANS  
BUT GAVE SOME EVIDENCE OF FAVORING IDEA OF A JOINT DECLARA-  
TION OF PROGRESS TO PERMIT EXTENSION OF TALKS BEYOND DEAD-  
LINE. END SUMMARY.

1. HONDURAN FONMIN CESAR BATRES ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR  
GALVEZ CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY KUBISH AND DEPUTY AS-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 239640

SISTANT SECRETARY BOWDLER ON DECEMBER 5. BATRES SAID HE

HAD SOUGHT MEETING TO PRESENT HONDURAN VERSION OF RECENT BREAKDOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS AND OTHER RELATED EVENTS. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN HOPEFUL THAT SOME PROGRESS WOULD BE ACHIEVED AT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN MEXICO. HE NOW WAS PESSIMISTIC DUE TO GOES RENUNCIATION OF THE PACT OF BOGOTA AND RESERVATION ON ICJ JURISDICTION.

2. BATRES WAS AT A LOSS TO EXPLAIN WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE "ABRUPT CHANGE" IN SALVADORAN ATTITUDE. HE RECALLED

HAT AT THE MEETING OF CHIEFS OF STATE IN JALAPA, THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT WAS ON THE HORIZON. THE TWO SIDES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ON MOST OF THE FRONTIER THEY HAD REACHED AGREEMENT. THE SALVADORANS WANTED TO REFER THE PORTIONS STILL IN DISPUTE TO JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS FOR STUDY. HE HAD OBJECTED TO THIS APPROACH SINCE NEITHER MILITARY OFFICERS, LAWYERS, NOR ENGINEERS CAN RESOLVE THE ISSUES WHICH SHOULD BE DONE ON THE BASIS OF "HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS." BOWDLER ASKED WHETHER THE AREAS IN DISPUTE HAD BEEN CAREFULLY DEFINE AND WHETHER THE GOH POSITION WAS TO LIMIT THE ADJUDICATION TO THESE SPECIFIC AREAS OR TO MAKE IT MORE GENERAL. BATRES REPLIED THE FORMER. ACCORDING TO BATRES, THE ISSUE WAS LEFT TO THE MEXICO CITY TALKS FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION.

3. IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER QUERY, BATRES SAID THE SECRET BILATERAL SESSIONS IN ANTIGUA, GUATEMALA, LAST YEAR HAD NARROWED DIFFERENCES ON THE BOUNDARY ISSUE TO SIX ISOLATED POCKETS TOTALING 417 KILOMETERS. SUBSEQUENTLY, ALSO IN ANTIGUA, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON FOUR OF THE SIX. THAT LEFT TWO POCKETS, OF APPROXIMATELY 200 SQUARE KILOMETERS, WHICH REMAINED UNRESOLVED. HE IDENTIFIED THOSE TWO AREAS AS ZAZALAPA IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LA PAZ AND LA VIRTUD IN THE DEPARTMENT OF VALLE. THE GOH WAS HOPEFUL THAT THE ANTIGUA AGREEMENTS WOULD CARRY OVER TO THE MEXICAN TALKS WHERE A FORMULA FOR HANDLING THE TWO POCKETS COULD BE WORKED OUT. BATRES SAID THAT THE GOES DELEGATION, PARTICULARLY THE PRINCIPAL NEGOTIATOR ON THE BORDER ISSUE, DR. PADILLA VELASQUEZ, SHOWED NO INTEREST IN USING THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 239640

ANTIGUA AGREEMENTS AS THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR NEW EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE BORDER PROBLEM.

4. BOWDLER ASKED BATRES WHETHER AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED AT ANTIGUA ON MEANGUERA ISLAND. HE REPLIED THAT MARITIME BOUNDARY HAS NOT BEEN ADDRESSED. HE NOTED THAT EL SALVADOR MAY HAVE A STRONGER CLAIM TO THE ISLAND, ON THE BASIS OF PHYSICAL OCCUPATION AND EXERCISE OF JURISDICTION OVER MORE

THAN A CENTURY, BUT HONDURAS HAS A HISTORICAL, LEGAL CLAIM BASED ON COLONIAL DOCUMENTS. HE STATED CANDIDLY THAT IT WOULD BE MORE ACCEPTABLE DOMESTICALLY FOR THE GOH IF MEANGUERA WAS AWARDED TO EL SALVADOR BY AN ARBITRATOR, (A TRANSPARENT PLOY TO ENTICE THE SALVADORANS INTO ARBITRATION).

5. IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER QUERY, BATRES SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE GOES WANTS TO POSTPONE FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL AFTER THE MARCH ELECTIONS, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR DOMESTIC, POLITICAL REASONS FOR THE GOH TO ACCEPT SUCH A PROPOSITION. WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS INCLUDED A PROVISION PERMITTING POSTPONEMENT IN THE EVENT THE TWO PARTIES HAD NOT REACHED AGREEMENT, BATRES CONCEDED UNENTHUSIASTICALLY THAT THIS OFFERED A POSSIBLE OUT.

6. BATRES OBSERVED THAT THE ABRUPT CHANGE IN THE SALVADORAN NEGOTIATING POSTURE WAS ALL THE MORE DISTURBING BECAUSE IT WAS ONE OF SEVERAL RECENT INDICATIONS OF BELIGERENCY. HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PURCHASE OF JETS FROM ISRAEL, TO RUMORS ABOUT GOES MOBILIZATION, AND TO A GENERAL FEELING ON THE PART OF EL SALVADOR AND "SOME OF OUR OTHER NEIGHBORS" THAT THE POLICIES OF THE GOH WERE DANGEROUSLY PROGRESSIVE. BOWDLER POINTED OUT THAT OUR INFORMATION IS THAT NO JET AIRCRAFT WILL ARRIVE IN SALVADOR IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND THAT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF MOBILIZATION IN THAT COUNTRY. ON THE CONTRARY, BOWDLER ADDED, WE WERE IMPRESSED BY THE MODERATION SHOWN BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS IN DOWNPLAYING THEIR DISAGREEMENTS IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, IN RESTRAINING MILITARY FORCES AND IN MAINTAINING CONTACT AT THE ESTADO MAJOR LEVEL.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 239640

7. WE SUGGESTED TO BATRES THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME BENEFIT IN DEMONSTRATING PUBLICLY THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD BROUGHT SOME POSITIVE RESULTS. BOTH PARTIES MIGHT FIND IT MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TO ISSUE A DECLARATION ON DECEMBER 15, OR BEFORE, INDICATING AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON 90 PERCENT OF THE BORDER AREA, AND THAT THE REMAINING POCKETS STILL IN DISPUTE REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY AND NEGOTIATION. THIS WOULD HAVE THE SALUTARY EFFECT OF DEMONSTRATING TO THE PUBLIC IN BOTH COUNTRIES THAT SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDING A LOGICAL BASIS FOR BOTH PARTIES TO EXTEND THE TALKS BEYOND THE DECEMBER 15 DEADLINE. BATRES THOUGHT THE IDEA HAD MERIT BUT APPEARED DOUBTFUL THAT THE GOES WOULD SUPPORT IT. NONETHELESS, HE SAID HE WOULD RAISE IT WITH THE SALVADORAN DELEGATION ON HIS RETURN TO MEXICO TOMORROW.

8. BOWDLER ASKED BATRES WHAT HE PLANNED TO DO AFTER DECEMBER 15 IF A SATISFACTORY FORMULA IS NOT FOUND FOR CONTINUING THE MEXICO CITY TALKS. BATRES RESPONDED THAT HE PLANNED TO REPORT TO THE OAS COMMITTEE OF SEVEN ON THE FAILURE OF THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF AN MFN.

9. COMMENT: WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER BATRES WILL SUGGEST A JOINT DECLARATION TO THE SALVADORAN DELEGATION ON HIS RETURN TO MEXICO. HE CALLED ON US TO REPORT THE FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO INFORM US OF GOH DETERMINATION TO VETO ANY ATTEMPTS ON THE PART OF THE SALVADORANS TO POSTPONE FURTHER SESSIONS UNTIL AFTER MARCH ELECTIONS. WE MAY HAVE MOTIVATED HIM TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION AND TO TAKE STEPS TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS ALIVE.

10. EFFORTS OF SOMOZA AND ARANA TO BRING LOPEZ AND MOLINA TOGETHER BEFORE DECEMBER 15 MAY OFFER ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO HEAD OFF SUSPENSION OF THESE TALKS.

11. FOR SAN SALVADOR: SUGGEST THAT CHARGE AND LAZAR RAISE POSSIBILITY OF JOINT DECLARATION DURING MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MOLINA.

12. FOR GUATEMALA: CHARGE'S CONVERSATION WITH FONMIN  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 239640

ARENALES (GUATEMALA 5763) LEADS US TO BELIEVE HE AND PRESIDENT ARANA MIGHT BE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE THE TWO SIDES TO THINK IN TERMS OF A DECLARATION AND EXTENSION OF TALKS. REQUEST YOU DISCUSS THIS POSSIBILITY WITH ARENALES.

13. FOR MANAGUA: REQUEST YOU DISCUSS WITH SOMOZA IDEA OF DECLARATION AND EXTENSION OF TALKS TO SEE WHETHER HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO FOLLOW THIS APPROACH. KISSINVER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, BOUNDARY CLAIMS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 23 DEC 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973STATE239640  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** LAPEZZULLO/WGBOWDLER:PW  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19731237/aaaabbie.tel  
**Line Count:** 211  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ORIGIN ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 17 JAN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <17-Jan-2002 by martinjw>; APPROVED <07 MAR 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** EL SALVADOR-HONDURAS DISPUTE: MEETING WITH HONDURAN FONMIN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, HO, ES  
**To:** TEGUCIGALPA MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005